

Message Text

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S/S-MR.ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 271285

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 271285 ACTION NAIROBI

INFO LUSAKA DARES SALAAM 04 NOV 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 271285

NODIS

FOR ASST. SECT. REINHARDT ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR YOUR USE WITH NYERERE

FOLLOWING ARE TALKING POINTS FOR USE IN YOUR MEETING

1. -- THE SECRETARY ASKED ME TO COME TO DAR ES SALAAM TO
SHARE WITH YOU PERSONALLY OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE
RHODESIA CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. HE ASKED ME SPECIFICALLY TO
CONVEY TO YOU HIS HIGH REGARD AND HIS PLEASURE AT THE
SECRET

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OPPORTUNITY OF WORKING WITH YOU ON AN ENTERPRISE OF SUCH
IMPORTANCE TO PEACE AND GENUINE INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA.

2. -- THE SECRETARY REGARDS HIS EXCHANGES WITH YOU AS

VALUABLE AND IMPORTANT IN OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE MUTUAL GOALS. HE APPRECIATES YOUR BROAD INTELLECTUAL GRASP OF THE REALITIES INVOLVED IN THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS WE ARE GRAPPLING WITH, FOR THIS IS A TIME WHEN REALISM AND FORE-SIGHT WILL BE CRUCIAL.

3. -- WE ARE GLAD THE GENEVA CONFERENCE GOT UNDERWAY. FOR A WHILE, IT APPEARED THAT IT MIGHT FLOUNDER IN ALL THE PUBLIC RHETORIC THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ARRIVAL OF DIFFERENT DELEGATIONS.

4. -- SOME OF THE RHETORIC WAS UNDERSTANDABLE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT THE TIME HAS COME FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUBLICIZE THEIR MAXIMUM POSITIONS. NOW THEY MUST NOW GET DOWN TO THE JOB OF ORGANIZING A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR RHODESIA.

5. -- IT IS ESSENTIAL NOT TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEGOTIATING PATH. THE FIRST STEP TO THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF FULL MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE IS TO AGREE ON A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT WILL MAKE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT GOAL INEVITABLE.

6. -- TO ACHIEVE THE TRANSFER OF THE DE FACTO POWER THAT SMITH HOLDS TO A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH HE CANNOT CONTROL REQUIRES AGREEMENT ON THE TRANSITION. BY DEFINITION, A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT MUST GIVE A GREATER VOICE TO THOSE RELINQUISHING POWER THAN THEY WILL HAVE IN AN INDEPENDENT MAJORITY-RULE GOVERNMENT. NONETHELESS, AGREEMENT ON A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL CONSTITUTE AN IRREVOCABLE BREAK WITH THE PAST AN IRREVERSIBLE STEP TOWARD FULL MAJORITY RULE. IT WILL MAKE MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE INEVITABLE WITHIN TWO YEARS OR AN AGREED LESSER PERIOD.

7. -- THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE PLAYED A VITAL ROLE
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IN GETTING THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS TO THE TABLE AND WE HOPE YOU WILL CONTINUE TO EXERCISE YOUR INFLUENCE TO KEEP THE CONFERENCE GOING AND TO PREVENT IT FROM FAILING BECAUSE ONE GROUP OR ANOTHER PUSHED EXTREME DEMANDS. WE WILL DO THE SAME EQUALLY WITH THE RHODESIANS.

8. -- THERE WILL NOT BE ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY LIKE GENEVA. THOSE PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE TEMPTED TO RELY ON THE USE OF FORCE TO ADVANCE THEIR CAUSE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE COST TO THEM AND TO THE STATES IN THE AREA IF WAR RESUMES. IF THE CONFERENCE BREAKS DOWN, THE ROAD AHEAD WILL BE LONG AND GRIM. IF THAT HAPPENS THERE WILL BE NO WAY TO RECREATE AN OPPORTUNITY LIKE THE PRESENT . THE U.S.

WILL WASH ITS HANDS OF THE AFFAIR--BUT WE WILL NOT BE
INDIFFERENT TO INTERVENTION FROM OUTSIDE OF AFRICA.

9. -- WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUA-
TION. SMITH HAS CONCEDED THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE
WITHIN TWO YEARS AND IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE A TRANSI-
TIONAL GOVERNMENT, BUT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS NOT
REALLY MOVED INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF THE COMPOSITION
OF SUCH A GOVERNMENT. WHERE DO THE VARIOUS ZIMBABWE
NATIONALISTS STAND?

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10. -- IS ZIPA REALLY WILLING TO NEGOTIATE? THEIR RECENT
STATEMENTS RAISE A QUESTION OF WHY THEY ALLOWED SOME OF
THEIR MEMBERS TO JOIN THE MUGABE DELEGATION. IF THEY ARE
DETERMINED TO TAKE THE LONG, TRAGIC ROUTE OF WAR, WHY HAVE
THE GENEVA CONFERENCE?

11. -- AT WHAT POINT IS THE GUERRILLA ACTIVITY GOING TO
STOP? THREATS OF INCREASED ACTIVITY .INVITE RE-
TALIATION--LIKE THE RHODESIAN RAID EARLIER THIS WEEK. IT
HAS BEEN OUR VIEW ALL ALONG THAT CONTINUING GUERRILLA WAR-
FARE RUNS THE RISK OF SERIOUS ESCALATION. THOSE WHO
WANT TO FIGHT RATHER THAN TALK MAY FIND LATER ON THAT THEY
ARE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE THE SAME POINTS AGAIN AFTER MANY
MORE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED AND MORE OF THEIR COUNTRY'S
RESOURCES--AND FUTURE PROSPECTS--HAVE BEEN DESTROYED.

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12. -- THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DEBATE ABOUT THE FIVE POINTS
AND SUGGESTIONS THAT WE REPRESENTED THEM AS BEING
ACCEPTED IN DETAIL BY THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. WE HAVE
NEVER MADE SUCH A CLAIM. THE SECRETARY, IN COMMENTING ON
THIS SUBJECT, HAS INDICATED ONLY THAT THERE WERE CONSULTA-
TIONS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE PROPOSALS BUT NOT ON THE
ACTUAL TEXT.

13. -- WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE FIVE POINTS ESTAB-
LISHED - PROCESS FOR ACHIEVING MAJORITY RULE
AND A BASIS ON WHICH SMITH COMMITTED HIMSELF TO MAJORITY
RULE. IF THE NATIONALISTS FAIL TO ENTER SERIOUSLY INTO
THE PROCESS AND ENGAGE SMITH IN NEGOTIATIONS THEY WILL BE
SIGNALLING THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE IMPOSSIBLE IN ANY EVENT
AND THAT THEY WANT ONLY WAR.

14. -- ON NAMIBIA, WE ARE WAITING FOR SAM NUJOMA'S FURTHER
THOUGHTS ON THE POINTS THE SECRETARY DISCUSSED WITH IN
NEW YORK. WE UNDERSTAND HE WISHED TO CONSULT OTHER
AFRICAN LEADERS, INCLUDING YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE,
AND GIVE SOME MORE THOUGHT TO THE MATTER.

15. -- WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE
PERSUADED TO PARTICIPATE IN A CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA, AT
LEAST TO THE EXTENT OF BEING PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE THOSE
POINTS THAT ARISE FROM THE NEED TO TRANSFER DE FACTO POWER
TO AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT.

16. -- THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE
CONCESSIONS ON NAMIBIA IS CONDITIONED MAINLY BY DOMESTIC
POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAT MAKE IT NECESSARY TO OBTAIN
CERTAIN RECIPROCAL GESTURES FROM THE OTHER SIDE. THESE
ARE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAT SWAPO SHOULD RECOGNIZE
EVEN THOUGH SWAPO, NOT BEING IN POWER YET, MAY NOT BE SO
LIMITED.

17. -- IN ANY EVENT THE SECRETARY IS CONVINCED THAT THE
TIMING AND MODALITIES FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE CAN BE
NEGOTIATED VERY QUICKLY IF THE PARTIES CAN GET OVER
CERTAIN PROCEDURAL INHIBITIONS. WE STAND READY TO DO OUR
BEST TO MOVE THE MATTER ON TO THE NEXT STAGE AS SOON AS
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POSSIBLE.

18. -- WE WILL BE EAGER TO HAVE YOUR REACTIONS TO ANY
TALKS YOU MAY HAVE WITH MR. NUJOMA.

19. -- I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR RECEIVING ME AT SUCH SHORT
NOTICE, AS THE SECRETARY WANTED ME TO CONVEY HIS VIEWS TO
YOU PERSONALLY.

20. -- THE SECRETARY SENDS YOU HIS WARM PERSONAL REGARDS
AND ASKED ME TO ASSURE YOU OF HIS CONTINUED DEDICATION TO
STRENGTHENING PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE THROUGHOUT AFRICA. KISSINGER
UNQUOTE KISSINGER.

SECRET

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